

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03

DODE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 IO-03 L-01 SAM-01 SP-02 PRS-01

RSC-01 /051 W

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R 251155Z NOV 74 ZDK  
FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
TO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
SECSTATE WASHDC 568  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USDEL JEC PARIS UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SAIGON 14692

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PDIP, VN, VS, SW

SUBJECT: MATERIAL TO ANSWER HANOI PROPAGANDA CHARGES

REF: A) SAIGON 14424; B) STATE 256859

1. WE GREATLY APPRECIATE EFFORTS OF EMBASSY STOCKHOLM TO  
EFFECT A RIGHTING OF THE BALANCE IN SWEDISH THINKING ON VIETNAM  
AND HOPE THAT INFORMATION THAT FOLLOWS MAY BE OF USE IN  
ANSWERING PROPAGANDA CHARGES AGAINST GVN AND OUR POLICY WHICH  
WE HAVE NOTICED IN SWEDISH COMMENT.

2. POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE COMMUNIST SIDE CONTINUES TO  
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ALLEGED THAT THE GVN HOLDS OVER 200,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE

UNITED STATES MISSION IN SAIGON HAS MADE A THOROUGH-GOING STUDY OF THE MATTER AS A RESULT OF WHICH WE HAVE DETERMINED THAT THE TOTAL PRISON POPULATION OF SVN IS NOT REPEAT NOT IN EXCESS OF 35,000, INCLUDING COMMON CRIMINALS, DESERTERS, AND THE LIKE. AFTER A LONG AND BITTER WAR WE WOULD EXPECT TO FIND SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS--IN THE SENSE OF PERSONS JAILED ONLY FOR LEGAL OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT. SO FAR WE HAVE NOT FOUND ONE PROVED CASE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THE GVN HAS RETURNED ALL PRISONERS OF THE OTHER SIDE IT HELD AT THE TIME OF THE CEASEFIRE: 26,876 MILITARY (MANY OF WHICH COMMUNISTS HAVE SIMPLY REINTEGRATED INTO THEIR ARMED FORCES) AND 5,081 CIVILIANS. COMMUNISTS, IN CONTRAST, HAVE RELEASED ONLY 5,408 MILITARY AND 637 CIVILIANS EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE KNOWN TO HOLD MANY MORE.

3. REPRESSION AND TORTURE. THE COMMUNISTS CONSTANTLY ALLEGE THAT THE GVN ENGAGES IN WHOLESAL REPRESSION AND TORTURE. WHILE THERE MAY BE INDIVIDUAL ABUSES AS IN ANY COUNTRY, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF SYSTEMATIC USE OF TORTURE IN VIETNAM PRISONS. TO SHOW HOW REALITY DIFFERS FROM ALLEGATIONS, THE CASE OF 118 VIETNAMESE WHO LEFT VIETNAM ILLEGALLY AND WERE DEPORTED FROM HONG KONG BACK TO VIETNAM LAST JUNE MIGHT BE CITED. IN JULY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CHARGED PUBLICLY, WITHOUT ATTEMPTING TO VERIFY THE CHARGES, THAT FOURTEEN OF THESE DEPORTEES HAD DIED FROM INJURIES AT CON SON PRISON AND THAT 21 HAD BEEN SENT TO FRONT LINE UNITS WITHOUT TRAINING. THE TRUTH WAS THAT NONE OF THE 118 HAD DIED, AND NONE HAD BEEN MISTREATED, AND NONE HAD BEEN SENT TO THE "FRONT LINES". ALL CHILDREN UNDER FOURTEEN WERE UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASED SHORTLY AFTER THEIR RETURN TO VIETNAM, AS WERE A FEW OTHER HARDSHIP CASES. THE REMAINDER OF THE 118 WERE RECENTLY TRIED FOR LEAVING THE COUNTRY ILLEGALLY AND RECEIVED VERY LIGHT SENTENCES: 2 PERSONS GOT 1 YEAR, 7 PERSONS GOT 8 MONTHS, 78 GOT 6 MONTHS, 12 GOT 5 MONTHS, 9 GOT 3 MONTHS AND 10 WERE ACQUITTED. THE GVN PUBLICLY DENIED THE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CHARGES SHORTLY AFTER THEY WERE MADE, YET THE CANARD THAT FOURTEEN OF THESE DEPORTEES DIED CONTINUES TO BE ECHOED BY THE ILL-INFORMED AND THE ILL-INTERESTED.

4. POLITICAL FREEDOM. THE CITIZENS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM ENJOY SURPRISING FREEDOM FOR A COUNTRY AT WAR AND LACKING A DEMOCRATIC TRADITION. THERE ARE FOURTEEN VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE DAILY

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NEWSPAPERS, MANY OF WHICH CRITIZE THE GOVERNMENT VIRULENTLY ON A DAILY BASIS ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS IN THE PROCESS OF PASSING A LAW WHICH WILL FURTHER LIBERALIZE THE RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS WHICH DO EXIST. SIMILARLY, LEGISLATION RESTRICTING ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES (WHICH IN FACT WAS NEVER ENFORCED) IS NOW BEING LIBERALIZED. AS PRESS REPORTS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM MAKE CLEAR, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY INCLUDES ACTIVE OPPOSITION AND CRITICS OF THE GVN WHO ARE

FREE WITHIN WIDE LIMITS TO PROPAGANDIZE FOR THEIR POINT OF VIEW,  
INCLUDING TALKING TO FOREIGN NEWSMEN.

5. IN NORTH VIETNAM OF COURSE, INCLUDING THE AREAS NORTH  
VIETNAMESE TROOPS OCCUPY, IN THE SOUTH, THERE ARE NO "DEMOCRATIC  
LIBERTIES" AND NO SUCH DISSENT IS PERMITTED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE  
SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF "HOC TAP", THE THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE  
VIETNAMESE WORKERS PARTY, CONTAINS AN EDITORIAL ATTACKING  
"ERRONEOUS THINKING" IN HARSH TERMS, AND STATING THAT "WE MUST  
RESOLUTELY EXPOSE ALL HOSTILE TENDENCIES IN ALL FORMS" AND "MUST  
RESOLUTELY PUNISH THOSE WHO ARE REALLY IDEOLOGICALLY OPPOSED TO  
OUR REGIME AND WHO HAVE PROPAGATED THEIR HOSTILE THOUGHT FOR  
SINISTER PURPOSES." THE EDITORIAL GOES ON TO INDICATE DEVIATIONS  
FROM THE PARTY LINE MUST BE FOUGHT IN THE PRESS, IN LITERATURE, AND  
IN THE ARTS AS WELL AS IN INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES. THIS EDITORIAL  
ALSO SHOWS THAT THE HANOI REGIME HAS PROBLEMS OF MORALE AND  
DISCIPLINE AS IT ATTEMPTS TO MAINTAIN THE DESIRED REGIMENTATION  
OF THOUGHT AND BEHAVIOR. MEANWHILE, IN SVN, "PRG" AGENTS ARE  
VIOLATING THE DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE EVERY DAY THROUGH  
ASSASSINATIONS, ABDUCTIONS, TERRORISM AND ROAD MINING.

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DODE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 IO-03 L-01 SAM-01 RSC-01 SP-02

PRS-01 /051 W

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R 251155Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

SECSTATE WASHDC 569

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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LIMDIS

6. MILITARY AID. IT IS ALLEGED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ASSISTING THE GVN TO "SABOTAGE" THE PARIS AGREEMENT BY SUPPLYING LARGE QUANTITIES OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. IN FACT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN CAREFULLY OBSERVING ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, AND ACTUAL SHIPMENTS HAVE BEEN FAR LESS THAN PERMITTED UNDER THE ONE-FOR-ONE REPLACEMENT PROVISION OF THE AGREEMENT. THE DRV ON THE OTHER HAND HAS BEEN INFILTRATING LARGE NUMBERS OF MEN AND LARGE QUANTITIES OF ARMS INTO THE SOUTH, INCLUDING NEW TYPES OF EQUIPMENT FORBIDDEN BY THE AGREEMENT, IN FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF ARTICLE 7. (IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT UNDER ARTICLE 7 THE DRV IS FORBIDDEN TO SEND ANY TROOPS AT ALL TO THE SOUTH AFTER JANUARY 27, 1973.)

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7. DISGUISED MILITARY ADVISORS. HANOI ALLEGES THERE ARE 25,000 MILITARY ADVISORS IN SOUTH VIETNAM DISGUISED AS CIVILIANS. IN FACT THERE ARE FEWER THAN 7,000 AMERICANS IN VIETNAM ALL TOLD, INCLUDING RELIEF WORKERS, PRIVATE CITIZENS, WIVES AND CHILDREN, AND THERE ARE NO QTIQO#MILITARY ADVISORS. HANOI HOWEVER SENDS NOT ONLY MILITARY ADVISORS BUT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE TROOPS FIGHTING IN SVN UNDER CONTROL OF THE HIGH COMMAND, ARMED FORCES OF NORTH VIETNAM.

8. CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS. DRV/"PRG" PROPAGANDA ALLEGES MASSIVE CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS BY THE GVN. IN FACT IT IS THE COMMUNIST SIDE WHICH CARRIED OUT A WIDESPREAD AND COORDINATED LAND GRAB AT THE VERY MOMENT OF THE CEASEFIRE; SINCE THEN HAS SEIZED A NUMBER OF GVN BASES IN THE HIGHLANDS; AND SINCE JULY HAS CAPTURED CERTAIN DISTRICT TOWNS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY. AT THE SAME TIME THE COMMUNISTS UNILATERALLY BROKE OFF THE TALKS WITH THE GVN IN THE TWO PARTY JOINT MILITARY COMMISSION, WHICH IS DESIGNED TO CONSOLIDATE AND POLICE THE CEASEFIRE AND, IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENTS, HAVE ATTEMPTED TO FORCE DISBANDMENT OF THE ICCS BY REFUSING TO PAY THEIR SHARE OF ICCS EXPENSES AND BY REFUSING TO COOPERATE IN ANY WAY WITH THAT BODY.

9. ALLEGED GVN MISUSE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ABLE TO PHYSICALLY VERIFY THAT ASSISTANCE IS GENERALLY USED FOR INTENDED PURPOSES. IN THE NORTH, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE HANOI REGIME'S UTTER MISMANAGEMENT OF FOREIGN AID FORCED THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EE'S LAST YEAR TO DEMAND AN INVENTORY OF CAPITAL GOODS AS A PRECONDITION FOR FUTURE AID

PROGRAMS. HANOI ITSELF HAS ADMITTED THAT COMMODITIES, FROM FOOD-STUFFS TO BUILDING MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT, FROM SIMPLE TOOLS TO VEHICLES, HAVE BEEN STOLEN BY PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FOR SALE ON THE FREE MARKET OR HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATED BY THESE OFFICIALS FOR THEIR OWN PRIVATE USE OR GAIN. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SWEDES THEMSELVES HAVE EXPERIENCED GREAT DIFFICULTY IN IMPLEMENTING THE CENTERPIECE OF THEIR ASSISTANCE TO NORTH VIETNAM, I.E., CONSTRUCTION OF A SAWMILL/PULP PLANT DESIGNED TO EXPLOIT THE NORTH'S TIMBER RESOURCES.

10. WE ARE POUCHING TO EMBASSY STOCKHOLM COPIES OF A REPRINT OF AMBASSADOR MARTIN'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN  
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RELATIONS COMMITTEE LAST SUMMER. IN ADDITION TO AMBASSADOR MARTIN'S OPENING STATEMENT AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS, ATTENTION IS DRAWN TO PP. 446-475 WHICH COVERS IN DETAIL THE QUESTION OF "POLITICAL PRISONERS" AND PRISON CONDITIONS GENERALLY. SUGGEST DEPARTMENT POUCH COPIES OF REPRINT TO INFO ADDRESSEES.  
MARTIN

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

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## Message Attributes

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